20c SEPTEMBER 15, 1952 PREJUDICE AND THE PRESS—page 10

New Republic

THE CAMPAIGN OPENS...

STEVENSON: HUMOR IN POLITICS
—by T.R.B.

IKE GETS OFF THE GROUND
—by Edwin A. Lahey

THE DEMOCRATS REALIGN
—an editorial

19 1952
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Johnson City, Tennessee

Reviews of Novels by

HERMANN MELVILLE *THEODORE DREISER*
MACHADO DE ASSIS *MAURICE DRUON*
and THE LETTERS OF THOMAS GRAY

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Letters

Eisenhower's "Knights and Knaves"

● As one of his oldest and most ardent supporters, I have forwarded to General Eisenhower the timely and trenchant article (*NR*, July 28) on "Knights and Knaves" in his Republican "Crusade" for a *clean and progressive* administration in America's and in our world's affairs, asking his personal consideration of the very serious and significant matters contained therein.

Knowing his intensely impartial and earnest outlook on both party and national welfare, I do not doubt that he *will* most carefully consider the effects of your recommendations, as his whole life's record shows to all unprejudiced observers that the service of our people has been the pole-star of his life, and one which accounts for the *unique* confidence and respect in which he is held by *all* who know him throughout the whole world. Such a man alone is the sort of President that can arouse the hopes and future confidence not only of loyal Americans but of the entire free world.

Burlingame, Calif. H. SHERIDAN-BICKERS

We Need A Change

● One of the most powerful arguments advanced by the Republican Party is the need for a change in government. I am in wholehearted agreement.

In this connection I should like to suggest two eventualities:

1. It is possible that no *important* changes may take place *with* a change of party, if the chief administrator is not capable of effecting the changes needed.

2. It is possible for important changes in governmental administration to take place *without* a change of party but with a decided change in the person of the chief administrator.

Many are agreed that the main failings of the government now in power are inefficiency and corruption.

There is no guarantee that Eisenhower under the Republicans will go far in correcting these ills.

There is no guarantee that Stevenson will do so. There seems, however, to be reasonable hope that he will when his record is critically examined.

By and large, second-raters have filled key governmental positions which has made for ineptness, stupidity in government and general laxness.

One of Stevenson's outstanding assets as Governor of Illinois has been his ability to surround himself with top-notch men. He has not been too observant as to what political labels they wear, often to the disgust of his political conferees. We can be assured that this all-important policy will be carried out with equal discrimination and assiduity when Stevenson is in Washington. This means good, efficient government.

Stevenson's personal integrity and his philosophy of political integrity mark him as a creature apart in the Democratic arena. While it cannot be expected that he will completely cleanse the Augean stables of deeply incrusted political graft and corruption, his opening address at the Democratic Convention made it quite clear that he will not adopt or countenance a laissez-faire attitude in the matter of graft, corruption and dishonesty. Stevenson never has been a creature of the machine. The Democratic Party's "way" has not been Stevenson's way. He has accepted their platform but he gives every indication of refusing to be a conforming legatee of political corruption.

Added to these assets are Stevenson's extraordinary powers of persuasion, his felicity of expression, his capacity to get things accomplished by those who work for him. The unusual respect he invariably inspires is a measure of this unusual man.

Chicago, Ill. A. G. VAN BUREN

Critic's Purgatory

● I notice that a Concerto by your music critic, Robert Evett, is scheduled for performance at the Yaddo Festival on September 14. It will be a pleasure to see this high-handed and irascible young man put on the spot. I hope that his piece can live up to his own critical standards, and that it can stand comparison with the Harris, Copland, Barber, Piston and Palmer pieces which are also featured on the festival.

Washington, D. C. CHARLES ALLDREDGE

Who Is T. R. B.

● I have read and subscribed to your magazine for several years and when my copy arrives, I open it first of all to Washington Wire—not only because it appears at the beginning—but I think it is one of the best columns. However, I must find out who is T. R. B. Please don't keep me in suspense any longer. Whoever he is, he has my highest esteem.

Oakland, Calif. GARY KARPEL

[When he was named 20 years ago T. R. B.'s full name was Transit Rapid Brooklyn – THE EDITORS.]

The "New South"

● Arthur Raper's "Is There 'A New South'" (*NR*, August 18) is really a masterpiece.

There is really a "New South" in the making but some of the old politicians are hindering it as much as possible. I have watched Sparkman for many years and he certainly is always trying to do the right thing. If every Southern state would have just one Senator like him there really would be a new South.

Big Spring, Texas J. C. WEBB

Library Censorship

● Here is a belated "thank you" for your article on the "Legion and the Library" some weeks ago. Last year we had a similar incident in Burbank although the Legion was not involved. In our case a couple of confused conservatives . . . convinced the Library Board which, in turn, persuaded the City Council to "survey" all the books in the Public Library for the purpose of labelling any that were found "subversive."

The story is too long to be told in a letter but the little scheme was quite effectively killed and buried by aroused local people and the International Association of Machinists. The idea did not, however, die too easily. The Library Board took it to a convention of the Librarians Association of California where

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

So, Ike Was Right!

Today's Question: Are you willing to follow Paris' dictates in the new longer shirt lengths?

The Answer: Mme. Brune [Washington fashion designer] "Definitely not! This shows that the French are decadent, or they wouldn't be making this change in shirt lengths." – *From the Washington* Post.

Ugh, Whiteface

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower told the American Indians . . . he looked forward to the day when there would be no differences among Americans because of color . . . when the universal greetings in this country would be "how, American." – *From the New York* Times.

The Horn of Plenty

"People are never satisfied," said Governor McKeldon (Md.). "I used to have a Chevrolet and I wanted a Buick—when I became Mayor of Baltimore I got the Buick and I wanted a Cadillac—now I am Governor and I have a Cadillac—and I want two Cadillacs so my wife won't take mine when I want it." – *From the Maryland* News.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

CONTENTS FOR SEPT. 15, 1952

5 The Democrats Realign
An Editorial
6 The Week:
6 Campaign Sense
6 Paradox at Margate
7 Union Shop and Principle
7 Fowler Takes Over
7 The Snyder Lectures
7 Psychologically Unsound
8 Ike Gets Off The Ground
9 A New Face For Rome
10 How Republican Is the Press?
by Ralph M. Goldman
12 Germany After Schumacher,
by Robert Powell
14 Have You the Right to Travel
Abroad? by Eugene Gressman
16 GI Housing: Bribes and Bribers,
by Harry Conn
17 Literature and the Arts:
17 *Materials and Weights of Melville*, by C. Olson
18 Krutch, *Letters of Gray*,
by Willard Thorp
19 B. O'Donnell, *Cavalcade of Justice*, by E. Gressman
20 De Assis, *Epitaph of Small Winner*, by S. M. Fitzgerald
20 M. Druon, *Rise of Simon Lachaume*, by I. Rosenfeld
21 D. Daiches, *Century of Essay*,
by Rudd Fleming
22 J. H. Burns, *Cry of Children*,
by W. Balliett
22 G. Guareschi, *Don Camillo's Little Flock*, by S. Cooperman
23 Dreiser, *Stoic* and Schoonover,
Quick Brown Fox,
by J. Raleigh

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WASHINGTON WIRE

EIGHT thousand people were jammed in the Denver auditorium the other night to hear Adlai Stevenson. Earlier he had made his big TV speech for the day and now had come here to ad lib. It seemed almost unbelievable that this continuity of sparkling, Will Rogers commentary and dragonfly wit was extemporaneous.

The captivated audience in Denver waited for each new thrust. Stevenson delivers these with a straight face and then, when the audience laughs, his face characteristically wreathes with a smile that unaffectedly reveals his own relish.

Half way through, after saying something about the Republican Party being caught on flypaper, Stevenson paused and asked reflectively, "By the way, that reminds me, what happened to all the flies?" He said there didn't seem to be so many as there used to be. He assumed some agency of the government "under Democratic Administration, disposed of the flies." He added thoughtfully, "I will have to look into that."

It was at this point that something clicked in our mind. No one like Adlai Stevenson has ever run for the Presidency before. His hardheaded practicality has been shown as Governor of Illinois. But there is also an elfin, fey quality to the man. Abraham Lincoln would not have made that comment about flies in a political speech. George Washington wouldn't. Adlai Stevenson is a political Peter Pan.

This is charming, but is it good politics? We just don't know. We suspect the American public prefers its Presidents on the dull side. On the other hand, Stevenson couldn't be different if he would. It has been said that a gentleman is one who never insults anybody unintentionally. Stevenson is master of the polished insult. In sly reference to Eisenhower's ghost writers, he rebuked the General for some of the latter's comments about him, Stevenson. "I will not repay him in kind," he said, "but I would thank him to read more carefully what I don't believe he would write himself." We cannot recall a more exquisitely delivered political rapier-thrust in modern times.

Our spies in the Eisenhower camp tell us that the rather desperate Republicans are hoping their adversary will be labeled a "comic," and that about mid-October the public will weary of the entertaining contender and turn to their more plodding article. Eisenhower is master of the dynamic cliché. He may get the sympathy vote. It seems hideous to many that this warm-hearted, good man should be caught ignobly between the two Republican parties with McCarthy hung around his neck. The crowd reacts strongly to an outraged national hero revolted by the evidence of sordid official chicanery. That is about the only positive contribution Ike has to offer to this campaign. And it should not be underestimated.

Yet how can Stevenson be dismissed as a lightweight Milton Berle when he has said what he has on foreign affairs? We all sat in the sun room of the old Governor's Mansion in Springfield, Ill., last week to watch Ike on TV deliver his much-touted speech on foreign affairs. Ike and Dulles had put Europe's nerves on edge by promising a positive, streamlined foreign policy, following the GOP plank denouncing containment as "immoral." But when the speech came, three of the 10 points were "turn the rascals out," and the other seven accepted the Truman policy now existing. Word spread that Ike had scrapped another unacceptable ghost-written speech for something milder. It seemed so easy, as Dulles outlined it in his September 3 statement. "There are countless peaceful ways by which the task of the Russian despots can be made so unbearably difficult that they will

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renounce their rule." But Ike did not mention the ways, as the well-drilled GOP audience in Philadelphia roared its approval for what was a little over its head. He said his own policy would bring Korea to an end but, as the New York *Times* correspondent added, "He was not specific on how this would be accomplished." The audience in Springfield, Ill. broke up. Governor Stevenson made no immediate comment other than shrugging his shoulders.

There has been no politician like Stevenson before. Photographers caught the hole in the bottom of his shoe that went right through to the stocking, as he crossed his legs on the platform. Next day so many letters came in that a special shoe secretary was necessary. Stevenson had the shoe half-soled, commenting on the high cost. At the same time he wore his customary negligently casual, tailored suits and homburg hat. As a youth he went fox-hunting, and he is well-to-do. Yet he is a close man with a buck. We are inclined to think this shoe episode was not all political artifice. Stevenson is one of the most complex men who has come down the pike in a long, long time.

Notes: Eisenhower's skillfully vague farm promise left no doubt in Midwestern minds. The September 6 Minneapolis *Star* bannered the speech, "Eisenhower's farm program asks 100-percent parity with less government control." . . . Democratic politicians who fought Truman now want more hell-raising Truman speeches. They are complaining about the polite, pastel campaign by Adlai. . . . Trade publication *Editor and Publisher* says that, in terms of daily circulation, editorial support of Ike is in the ratio of eight to one. . . . The pre-convention commitment for Ike by the New York *Times* (without waiting for the Democrats to nominate) praised the phrase " leaning tower of objectivity." . . . The humorless and always entertaining Colonel McCormick of the Chicago *Tribune* tells intimates that if he had not been hospitalized, the GOP convention would have named Taft. . . .

Billings, Mont. T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

the proposal was defeated by a vote of 476 to 0. With heads that were bloody but unbowed they stated that they were still going to continue the battle but later dropped the matter. . . .

I believe there is an answer to this problem. Out here one citizen, Mr. Thoburn Lyons, had the courage to write the City Council and make a speech before the Council condemning the proposal. Others joined him. What is the secret weapon of the people? Just one citizen who is vocal and who cannot be smeared can stop our would-be betrayers in their tracks. And he'll find he is not alone. This approach is simple; any number can play. It is a happy answer to one who asks, "What can an insignificant fellow like me do to help America."

DONALD C. SKONE-PALMER

No. Hollywood, Calif.

The Compromising Spirit

● I was very much interested in the (*NR*, August 18) article titled "John Sparkman and the Civil-Rights Issue" and while I think you have made as good a case for Sparkman as could be made under the circumstances I cannot help feel that you minimized the most important factor with the great mass of Northern liberals which would be that considering all the issues involved SPARKMAN WAS THE BEST SOUTHERNER AVAILABLE.

It seems to me that you overlooked a bet in failing to point out the extent to which the present issues parallel those presented to Lincoln before the Civil War and thereafter and the way he met them. Events proved that Lincoln was right and Greeley was wrong. William Lloyd Garrison and Owen Lovejoy did a great work in preparing men's minds but events proved that Lincoln's compromising spirit was necessary to hold the nation together to accomplish the great purposes of emancipation of the slaves.

Des Moines, Iowa DON M. DOUGLASS

Flying Saucers

● Re your "saucer" piece (*NR*, August 18), I do not *insist* that the "saucers" (the "hard" 20 percent of the sighting reported) are from some other planet in this or some other sun system, but it seems to me, a layman, you err when you write "astronomers reply they believe there is no organic life on any planet. . . ." What about the statement of belief of the astronomer who appeared recently before the amateur astronomers' convention at the University of California? And how about Fred Hoyle's belief, and the belief of those who took part in the 1949 Air Force "Saucer" Report (which mentions that outside the solar system there are 22 other stars besides the sun which have satellite planets—that astronomers believe it is reasonable that there could be at least one ideally habitable planet for each of the 22 other eligible stars)? Too, why limit speed to 2,000 miles per hour? Have you seen Norbert Wiener's *The Human Use of Human Beings* and his discussion of "telegraphing" grandma?

What are we and the scientists to make of the Chiles-Whitted sighting, if no other? Or astronomer Tombaugh's? And how do the experts and Dr. La Paz explain the presence of copper particles in the Southwest's air and the green fireballs which behaved (reportedly) like meteors never did?

And why was it only now that the Air Force could get excited about the "blips" over the D. C. area and announce that they were probably ground objects? Haven't they known from past experience for some time that a gasoline truck or some other object moving along a country road would sometimes indicate a "blip" at a considerable altitude?

And why did various scientists before the recent meteor shower predict there would be a *rash* of "saucer" reports? Our "coverage" reveals that there have been almost no reports of "saucers" of late—the citizenry appears not so taken in by meteors as some astronomers.

Why do "various scientists" and the Air Force waste their precious breath until they *really* know the explanations of the 20 percent of sightings that remained unexplained? Premature denials cause citizens to lose faith in their "authority."

Dinuba, Calif. PRINTICE WOMACK

"Doublethink and Doubletalk"

● Permit one outraged subscriber to give heated vent to his unequivocal disgust at your article, "Why Are We Fighting in Korea?" (*NR*, August 11).

To cloak the Korean debâcle in terms of "principle" is sheer nonsense. The only issue on that sad and blood-soaked peninsula is which bloc can add a little more power to the delicate balance of power in Asia.

The prisoner-of-war deadlock may be important. However, to establish a dubious hypothesis that, "Many Asians have long believed that the United States dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki because the inhabitants of those cities were not white" (who are these "Asians," who do they represent, what is your source of information, etc.) and then to "logically" conclude that United States agreement and the declaration of a truce would further this "dangerous misconception" is merely another example of shoddy thinking about the Korean War.

New Haven, Conn. GRAHAM SCOTT

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New Republic

THE DEMOCRATS REALIGN

ADLAI STEVENSON has set out to follow a strategy in his campaign for the Presidency which if successful will rank him with Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson and the Roosevelts as a creator of political coalitions. The "botanizing" excursion of Jefferson and Madison to New York prior to the 1792 election produced the first great party alliance in America, that between the planters of Virginia and Northern professional politicians, and led the way to national party management. Out of the popular ferment stirred up by the depression of the 1820s, Jackson formed a victorious new anti-monopoly party of petty planters from the South, pioneers of the West, Scotch-Irish and German immigrants in the North and "plain country folk" of New England. Lincoln, the natural politician, who his biographer Beveridge tells us "never led nor retarded mass movements but accurately registered them," bound a heterogenous mass of "common men" together strongly enough to triumph over a counter-alliance of cotton and industry.

Theodore Roosevelt, the wizard who could "organize the unorganizable, at least momentarily, integrated such incongruous and hostile elements as employers, employees, farmers and the professions into an all-class combination captivated by the emotion-charged slogan of the Square Deal." With the "New Freedom" formula Woodrow Wilson integrated labor, small business, the middle-class and agarians of the South and West. Under the banner of the "Forgotten Man" FDR rallied all the victims of Republican policies of the years between four times running. Harry S. Truman, faced with the problem of holding that depression-born alliance intact under totally different circumstances, accomplished the miracle in 1948 by reminding some groups how far they had come and advocating for others more than had ever been promised to them before.

Now, as Adlai Stevenson stands before the voters the Republicans believe that the mighty Roosevelt coalition is finally tottering. They are confident that that combination of low-income groups, organized labor, small farmers, traditionally Democratic Southerners, and the minorities and descendants of the foreign-born in the large urban centers cannot be held together through another period of election stress.

Twenty years of the New Deal-Fair Deal have enormously swelled the numbers of the "haves" and thinned out the "have nots." The millions of families thus raised up the social scale should be ripe for party realignment, should have forgotton how far they had come since 1932, the Republicans argue. Inflation should have injured those living on fixed incomes to the point of political revolt. And Ike's attractiveness to veterans, young voters and the mothers of boys overseas could cut deeply into usual Democratic majorities in the large cities. Finally, the hero-General, more than any other Republican, can tempt the Solid South to cast itself onto the rocks of two-party politics.

Twenty years of wars and recovery should surely have destroyed the homogeneity of a coalition formed back in 1932. A mere push from an arm as strong as that of General Eisenhower, by the logic of political history, should now be able to topple the old Roosevelt coalition.

The Eisenhower-Nixon strategy is aimed at shaking the structure in two ways. General Eisenhower, by exhorting the people about scandals and corruption in Washington and by warning of the danger of war if the Democrats are continued in office, will, Republican campaign managers believe, give millions of former Democrats a compelling reason for coming over to the GOP. Senator Nixon, by playing on the general fear of Communism and creating doubt concerning the existence of Communism in high places, will confuse and alienate hitherto Democratic voters, particularly such key groups as the Catholics in the big cities.

In the face of this formidable threat to the continuance of Democrats in the majority, Adlai Stevenson has set out to build his own combination for victory. Instead of holding out the hope of economic gains which he knows to be unrealizable so long as large-scale armament continues necessary, Stevenson's strategy apparently is to substitute what one writer has recently described as the dynamics of "keeping" for the inner dynamics of "getting" which unified the Roosevelt coalition. He is counting on the general fear of a return to depression or of a move toward isolation and war and on the common desire of those who have advanced their standard of living under the past five Democratic administrations to retain those gains. He reverts to the Jeffersonian slogan of "Equal justice for all, special privileges for

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none," as the moral principle by which his administration would try to live. Only by subordinating group selfishness to the general welfare can the present state of pressure deadlock in government be broken and gradual social progress begun again, Stevenson explains. Practice of this principle he might add, could result in the Democratic Party's again pulling together instead of incessantly pulling apart.

To convey so elevated a concept of party purpose as that which Stevenson has conceived is a far more difficult election task than Franklin Roosevelt or Harry Truman ever faced. Democratic victories do not result merely from approval by the constituent groups in the coalition of the policies proposed. Were this the case, the Democrats could feel great confidence today. The opening statements by Stevenson and Sparkman have won at least moderate approval from leaders of organized labor, minority groups, farmers and from independent-citizens concerned primarily with the conduct of our foreign affairs. But in modern political history, the Democrats have elected a President only when great enthusiasm for his candidacy among the industrial workers, the Negroes and the families of immigrant peoples in key electoral states produced a vote larger than the Republican potential outside the cities. To produce such enthusiasm under present circumstances, the Democratic ticket needs far more support from the organizations nominally pledged to it than is in sight. Members of labor and minority groups need to be encouraged by their leaders to learn to think in the new terms Stevenson has introduced. It will take the combined effort of the candidates, the party and the coalition organizations to bring Stevenson's new ideas home to individuals in a meaningful way in the short time remaining before the election.

So difficult a contest calls for pinpoint accuracy in directing the Stevenson campaign at the great targets. If Stevenson and Sparkman can carry the South, they will need only 122 additional electoral votes to give them the 266 required for election. The votes of New York, California and Pennsylvania, added to those of the states the Democrats are reasonably certain to carry under normal circumstances would provide that margin. New York, California and Pennsylvania, therefore, would seem to deserve high priority of attention and heavy investment of campaign funds and able personnel. If the Stevenson ticket continues its strong appeal to the professional, middle-income group of the population and to dirt farmers, if it gets vigorous campaign backing from the leaders of labor and minority groups among their own people—if the Democratic candidates can give genuine and convincing answers to the alarms raised by Eisenhower over corruption and war, and if the fear and confusion can be dissipated as it is shown by Senator Nixon, the Democrats can won. Obviously the prospect is not one to create early confidence.

THE WEEK

CAMPAIGN SENSE

Beardsley Ruml, the new Democratic Finance chairman, has brought a badly needed breath of clean air into the political fund-raising arena. Large and secret gifts from special interest groups such as the airline and liquor corporations won't tie the hands of the Stevenson administration the way they have at times limited the objectivity of some current Administration stalwarts, if Ruml has anything to say about it. Contributions to the Democratic National Committee will be documented by full receipts. And as much of the funds raised as possible will be obtained from individual donors in the form of small contributions.

Ruml's reforming efforts will, however, be severely limited by the inadequacies of the present law. State fund raisers such as the rash Democratic state chairman in Nebraska who solicited letter carriers for donations to the Stevenso campaign on spurious grounds, are to all effects and purposes beyond the pale of federal law. And state laws, such as the Michigan one under which Charles Potter, GOP candidate for the Senate, reported spending $43,383 in his primary campaign are if anything yet weaker.

Potter's actual expenses were many times higher, according to John Martin, his defeated rival, who can cite the "loans" of a high-powered publicity man from a leading Michigan automobile manufacturer and that of a high-paid newscaster by a leading Detroit radio station as among the factors that reduced Potter's cash outlay.

PARADOX AT MARGATE

The dominant note at the British trade-union conference just concluded at Margate was that of self-discipline. Despite the pressure of rising prices and Bevan's visions of what the British worker's standard of living could be if he would only force a cut-back on rearmament, the TUC overwhelmingly voted to make sacrifices for Britain's economic strength. Lincoln Evans, the TUC's economic expert, told the workers that they could not call for a general wage increase and still expect British goods to sell abroad in the needed quantities. Grimly the delegates agreed that however they felt about Winston Churchill they must support his government's program.

Besides agreeing to the principle of

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"no wage increases without a rise in productivity" the 900 delegates overwhelmed by a four-to-one majority the unco-ordinated opposition that is loosely associated with Bevan. The vote urging "extensive trading relations" with the Communist countries was of little political significance. The lack of aim and method in the trade embargo program maintained under US pressure is becoming subject to more open criticism; even many people in Washington will agree with the intent of this motion.

If there is one thing that a large number of Labour leaders and theorists have agreed on in the past year it is that further nationalization now would serve no useful purpose, and would in fact hinder the movement from developing a new program which may bring about another period of social achievement similar to that of 1945-50.

UNION SHOP AND PRINCIPLE

Railroad and steel executives have long proclaimed their principled objection to a union shop for their employees. It would, they said, abridge the "Right to Work," something they would not tolerate. Now, however, the principle, no longer serving as a cloak for economic issues, is beginning to fade. The 17 non-operating railroad unions have just reached agreement with the Eastern railroads for a union shop which will cover about 98 percent of their 400,000 employees.

The agreement, along the lines recommended by the Presidential Board some months ago, is the first regional pact ever negotiated by the "non-ops." Several Eastern railroads had previously signed union-shop contracts with their employees. The new agreement will give the employees 60 days in which to join the unions after September 15, the effective date.

The non-operating unions, representing about one million shop-craft workers, are now making plans to extend the union-shop to Western and Southeastern railroads. The latter group, under Donald Richberg, has been particularly vehement against the union security provision.

FOWLER TAKES OVER

The defense-production program, described by President Truman as one-half way toward its goal, has a new director in a 44-year-old Alexandria, Va., corporation lawyer, Henry H. Fowler. He succeeds Presidential Assistant John R. Steelman, who assumed the post on March 31 after Charles E. Wilson resigned in protest when President Truman refused to approve his wage policies.

Fowler comes to the post an uncontroversial figure who has done little things well. He joined the defense production effort shortly after the Korean invasion and worked his way up to head both the National Production Authority and the Defense Production Administration, the latter a policy-determining agency. He is credited with easing the machine-tool shortage.

The assignment of Fowler means an additional shakeup in the entire defense program. Many of the operations of the NPA will revert directly back to the Department of Commerce and most of the functions of the DPA will be directly assumed by the new mobilization director. He is also responsible for stabilization policies.

Fowler has summarized the job ahead by statistics. Of the $128 billion appropriated by Congress for the military procurement and construction program since June, 1950, only $34 billion worth of products and facilities were delivered or completed by June, 1952. A total of $42 billion are still to be contracted and $52 billion is the subject of existing contracts.

THE SNYDER LECTURES

Treasury Secretary John Snyder, as is his custom on such occasions, last week gave his captive audience at the International Bank and Fund meeting in Mexico City a long lecture about how unfortunate it was that most of the countries represented did not have adequate fiscal anti-inflationary policies. Exchange and import restrictions were bad, his listeners were told. But aside from the traditional homilies, Snyder gave no more recognition than he has in years past of the fact that rearmament programs present our allies with difficulties to which he, as the world's leading loan official, might suggest some new approach.

Neither the European countries, burdened with heavy armaments expenditures, nor the Asian and South American nations, striving to develop their industries and agriculture, were given any hopeful words by Snyder. By implication, they were told that the only way they could defray these new costs is to cut their public services. A listener to Snyder's talk might hardly have guessed that the Administration of which he is a member had sponsored the ECA and Point Four to prevent its allies having to take just such steps, which would be welcomed by Communists all over the world.

PSYCHOLOGICALLY UNSOUND

The predominant policy of segregation in the nation's capital received a public rebuke by the American Psychological Association during its 60th annual convention. Although the Statler and Mayflower Hotels where the psychologists were meeting did not discriminate against Negro members of the Association, several incidents of discrimination were reported elsewhere: a committee luncheon meeting was called off because a public restaurant refused to serve a Negro; an excursion boat trip on the Potomac was cancelled by a group of the members after they learned that the company required segregation; several members who could not afford to stay in hotels found that even the YMCA in Washington, D. C., had segregated dormitory facilities.

Despite the fact that Washington is the national headquarters of the Association, the council voted unanimously against holding any further meetings in the city until "additional progress has been made toward democratic treatment of minority groups." Dr. J. McV. Hunt, president of the Association, added that psychologists who have studied the origins of race prejudice and its effects upon the individual know "what a large factor it is in emotional disturbances of today."

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IKE GETS OFF THE GROUND

THE SHAREHOLDERS in the Eisenhower crusade had some reason for their elevation of spirit as their boy took to the hustings early on the morning of September 2. Before Labor Day, the morale in the Republican camp had sunk pretty low, because of the creeping fear that the candidate who was supposed to electrify the nation was just a plain dull fellow, headed for a dubious place in history as the only man in the country who could dissipate the great desire for a change in 1952. But to the great joy of his backers, Eisenhower displayed wonderful political acceleration with the dog days of August behind him. The size and enthusiasm of the Eisenhower crowds, particularly in the South, induced some observers to hedge on their assumption that Eisenhower was a loser.

Of course, the appearance of a Republican nominee for President in the South was unprecedented, and was expected to bring out a lot of people. But the crowds at every stop were more than curiosity seekers. In numbers and in vociferous approval of Eisenhower they exceeded the most optimistic expectations of the General's brain trust. One had the feeling that the anti-Truman Southerners, of whom there are a-plenty, Heaven knows, looked upon the apolitical background of Eisenhower and toyed with the thought that here was a man so far beyond partisan labels that a good nationalistic Southerner could vote for the General as a Republican without feeling any sense of self-debasement.

The crowds in the South did something good for Eisenhower. He was still a little laborious in his expression, but he had flashes of vigor, and showed a new-found facility for getting the subject and the predicate into the same sentence. This writer noted once before, on July 4, going through Iowa en route from Denver to the Republican Convention in Chicago that folksy crowds at the station stops seemed to have a litmus effect on Eisenhower, who responds to popular approval as instinctively as a child. With an assist from Gov. Adlai Stevenson, who gave the Republicans the felicitous phrase of the "mess in Washington," Eisenhower did pretty well as a spell-binder in the South.

Eisenhower's attraction to the crowds was still great as he began the Northern leg of his week's travels, with a nondescript "major foreign-policy speech" at Convention Hall in Philadelphia. The most notable thing about it was the apparent desire on Eisenhower's part to counteract the impression he had given to the American Legion in New York a week before that he wanted to go in shooting to rescue the nations of Eastern Europe from Soviet bondage.

But if the Philadelphia speech on foreign policy was not exceptional, the crowds were. Even allowing for the fine Republican organization in Philadelphia, which can get the party faithful to a staging point at the appointed hour, it was a very impressive turnout of interested citizens, not professional doorbell pushers and precinct captains. About 20,000 people got into the Convention Hall, and at least 10,000 had to be turned away. For Eisenhower, it was a happy recovery from his glum beginning a few weeks ago in Los Angeles, when he spoke to some 80,000 empty seats in the Los Angeles Coliseum, which holds 105,000 people.

Eisenhower's farm-policy address at Kasson, Minn., at the end of his first active week of campaigning, was not calculated to cause the husbandman to abandon his plow and join the dancing on the village green. Republican nominees for President, who make much of the evil of federal bureaucracy, for some reason or other never seem to have the courage to face that fact that if federal bureaucrats aren't around with a check book to stabilize agricultural income at critical periods in the operation of the free market, the man in the black hat comes around and forecloses farm mortgages. Governor Stevenson spoke at the same event, a national plowing contest, on the same day, and in the opinion of those who heard both candidates, received considerably more applause from the audience than Eisenhower.

At Chicago, the heartland of the Taft wing of the party, Eisenhower addressed the Republican precinct captains of Cook county, and told them wistfully that he hoped "to get together on the closest possible terms" with Taft.

The deep-rooted resentment against Eisenhower from the far right-wing of the Republican Party is still the most pressing problem of the nominee, whatever his brain trusters say to the contrary. Senator Taft is still unreconstructed and cannot be expected to lead his following in the great Eisenhower crusade until he has some firm assurances from Eisenhower.

If the right flank of the GOP keeps sulking, it could mean bad news for Eisenhower. It would take only a little defection by disgruntled Republicans to lose Ohio, Michigan, Illinois and Indiana to the Democrats, and this clump of important states would mean the ball game, providing the South stays on the Democratic side.

The position of the right-wing may be a little clearer in a week or so, after Eisenhower flies from his campaign train in Iowa to address the convention of the AFL in New York on September 17. Eisenhower has very little chance to win support in the AFL, which may make a political endorsement this year, for the first time since 1924. If he is hard boiled and cynical Eisenhower could rally the Taft followers back into the fold with an insulting speech to the AFL. But Ike likes to be liked, and is usually the supple creature of his own audience. If Eisenhower chooses the AFL platform to appeal to Republicans who think that the Taft-Hartley Act ranks with the Declaration of Independence, it will be surprising news.

Washington, D. C. EDWIN A. LAHEY

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A NEW FACE FOR ROME

ROME IS in danger once again. The threat this time comes neither from Communism nor from Fascism. It is a peril older than either of these totalitarian cults. As a matter of fact, it is not directly political at all. Some individual Fascists and Communists are involved but only as friends of levelling conformity, hence as enemies of the genius of individual man and of its capacity to create lasting beauty, hence also of the Eternal City, of its meaning, its symbolism, its appearance.

Yet the danger seems grave enough to cause a tumult of alarm. *Il Mondo* of Rome, the organ of the Italian Liberal Party and the best political weekly in Italy, announces portentously, "The fate of Rome is about to be decided." *Europeo* of Milan declares dramatically that, "Rome is passing through the worst days of its modern history."

The Rome to which both publications refer is the city itself, the physical entity, the congeries of streets and houses, squares, palaces and fountains made and arranged in a wonderful variety of architectural styles that makes the place a delight to the eye, a treasure house for the mind, one of the most beautiful capitals on earth. And the threat to all this comes from something called the new Piano Regolatore, a latter-day version of Benito Mussolini's City Planning Regulation Scheme of 1931, which is now awaiting final approval by the Superior Council of the Ministry of Public Works.

The man who "inspired" the present Plan is Mussolini's favorite architect, Marcello Piacentini. The Duce made him a member of the Fascist Italian Academy in 1929, and in gratitude he tried to make Rome over in the visual image of his master's rhetoric. Piacentini is responsible for more scarification of the lovely old stone face of the city, in the name of his patron's neo-imperialist bad taste, than were the barbarians of the dark ages or the Barberini and their fellow-vandals who peeled the Coliseum and sacked the Forum.

Other Fascists, nostalgic for their good old days, stand behind the Plan. So do many Communists whose ideas of the beautiful and the true are fitted into strait-jackets manufactured on the assembly line in Moscow. Also behind it is a motley lot of real-estate speculators, building-trades operators, official influence vendors and architectural innovators —"functional modernists." Unlike the true modernists, however, their dream of beauty stems more from the wartime bunker and pillbox than from Rockefeller Center and the United Nations buildings. Against them are arrayed many of Italy's leading architects (including authentic modernists), artists, writers, archeologists, public figures.

The most alarming feature of the Plan is a project to destroy Rome's equivalent of the Paris Quartier Latin or of New York's Greenwich Village—equivalent only in that it has housed artists and writers for many generations; otherwise it is incomparably more beautiful. *Europeo* writes:

> An entire neighborhood, ancient, harmonious, perfect, which for centuries has been lived in, loved and known by civilized men from all over the world is shaking on its foundations. It is the neighborhood of the via Margutta and the pazza del Popolo, the gay and popular quarter of the artists, little artisans, antiquarians, art galleries, the baroque and neo-classical quarter built by the urbanistic genius of Pope Leo X between the Pincian Hill and the Corso, the area which welcomed Keats, Wagner, Valadier, Goethe, Garibaldi, Browning, painters and sculptors from the whole world and which has been admired by all the famous men who have ever visited Italy.

The Plan calls for cutting a 16-yard tunnel from the Via Vittorio Veneto (which all US tourists know) under the Pincian Hill to the foot of the Villa Medici (the French Academy) where many streets and hundreds of houses, many of them historic or artistic treasures, will be destroyed to make way for a huge 70-yard by 60-yard square. The gardens and vineyards seen from under the trees from the Pincio, in the foreground of the most magnificent vista in Rome, will be removed. From the square, a 20-yard-wide motor road will cut to the Corso, the ugly Emperor Augustus Square built by Mussolini, and then to the Tiber River. Next to it will be a gigantic automobile parking space. To make room for all this, dozens of existing streets will be destroyed.

The "modernization" of the area between the Spanish Steps and the North Gate is only one of the horrendous threats of the Plan. "The center of Rome," says *Il Mondo*, "is condemned to death."

It is true, of course, that the Eternal City has "urbanistic" problems which badly need solution. The population of the city has risen from 200,000 in 1870 to 1.7 million now. Naturally there is a permanent housing crisis. But the attempted "solutions" have been geared more to the needs of the speculators than to that of the many thousands of desperately poor Romans, some of them still living in air-raid shelters or caves.

Other European cities—London, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, for example—have resorted to the radical methods of decentralization, with organic and regulated peripheral development. In Rome, the Fascist hierarchs who were in charge during most of the last generation, were more interested in creating a false-front of imperialist grandiosity.

Practically everything which was done to Rome under Mussolini's scheme of 1931 left architectural deformation of the face and spirit of the city. Even those Americans who did not know Rome before Fascism can identify what it did to deprive all cultured men of the beauty which is not only Italy's but a universal heritage. And it is tragic that the democratic government of an Italian republic, committed to honest and sensible solutions of practical problems, should instead be seriously contemplating following in the Fascist tradition of destroying old beauty and making new ugliness, of serving the greedy appetites of cliques of black-marketeers whitewashed with the sanction of official favor.

Rome PERCY WINNER

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HOW REPUBLICAN IS THE PRESS?

by Ralph M. Goldman

THE AMERICAN press today is predominantly Republican—as it has every right to be. Democrats and independents have not only the right but the responsibility to point out to the public the bias in the source of their news.

What is the press box-score? How have the newspapers lined up in more recent Presidential contests?

DAILY NEWSPAPER ENDORSEMENT OF CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT

Year	Total Daily Newspapers	Percent Democratic	Percent Republican	Percent Other Candidates	Percent Uncommitted or Not Reporting
1936	1,950	23.5%	37.3%	....	39.2%
1940	1,888	15.3	43.1	....	41.6
1944	1,754	16.6	45.4	....	38.0
1948	1,769	10.3	43.6	2.7	43.4
1952	1,773	?	?		

There are three important qualifications regarding these figures. First, while they provide the *number of dailies* that are Democratic or Republican, they fail to reveal *circulations*. The Republicans decidedly control the big-circulation dailies. For example, the total circulation of all the papers supporting Roosevelt in 1944 was 6,902,243 as compared with 26,654,966 for Dewey. In other words, the average circulation for each Roosevelt paper was 237,190 whereas the Dewey papers averaged 334,861. In 1948, the average Truman paper circulation was 246,695 as contrasted with 455,938 for the Dewey papers.

In the second place, there is every reason to believe that the "noncommittal" or "independent" papers were predominantly Republican. There has been a parade of newspapers eager to get under the banner—or façade—of "independence." As the following table shows, "Independent," "Independent-Republican," and "Independent-Democratic" papers rose from 1,133 in 1931 to 1,355 in 1952, or from 56 percent of the total daily papers to 76 percent. More pointedly, of the 802 newspapers today calling themselves "Independent," 280 of the 662 found outside the Solid South actively supported the GOP national ticket four years ago. A mere 14 of these same 662 "Independents" endorsed the Democratic candidate.

SELF-DESIGNATED PARTY AFFILIATIONS OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Affiliation	1931 Number	1931 % Total Papers	1952 Number	1952 % Total Papers
Independent	778	38.1%	802	45.2%
Independent-Republican	216	10.6	302	17.0
Independent-Democratic	139	6.8	251	14.2
Republican	430	21.0	194	10.9
Democratic	326	15.9	168	9.5
No Party Designation	155	7.6	56	3.2
Total	2,044	100.0	1,773	100.0

Dr. Ralph Goldman is a political scientist presently serving as a consultant with the Democratic National Committee.

The third point of qualification is that the *national* figures on Democratic support in the press give a far rosier Democratic picture than exists in the states outside the Solid South. A sizable Democratic press would naturally be found in the South. In the past this press if opposed to a national candidate, would indicate its hostility by remaining independent. However, this year a number of Southern dailies have gone beyond this to endorsement of the Republican candidate. The two leading dailies in Texas, the Houston *Chronicle* and the Dallas *News*, the Birmingham (Ala.) *News-Age-Herald*, and the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, for example, have come out for Eisenhower. It is quite different in the North and the West. Examine, for example, the eight states which cast the largest number of popular votes in the last two elections, and compare the size of the Democratic press in each state with the national average:

NATIONAL-STATE COMPARISON OF DAILY PAPERS ENDORSING DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES IN

State	1944 Total Number of Dailies	1944 % for Democratic Candidate	1948 Total Number of Dailies	1948 % for Democratic Candidate
National	1,754	16.6%	1,769	10.3%
New York	102	14.7	100	4.0
California	120	7.5	124	4.8
Illinois	92	7.6	88	3.4
Pennsylvania	131	4.6	131	1.5
Ohio	97	9.3	99	4.0
Massachusetts	56	5.4	54	1.9
Michigan	53	3.8	53	0.0 (I)
New Jersey	30	20.0	30	6.7

Quite a number of voters disagreed with the preferences of the press in each of these states. Of the total of 681 daily papers in these Big Eight states in 1944, only 57—that is, 8.4 percent—supported the Democratic national ticket. But the Roosevelt vote in that same year in these same eight states ran to 14,014,000, or 51.9 percent of the total vote. The proportion was even lower in 1948 when only 3.2 percent of the press in the Big Eight states supported Truman. The Truman vote, however, went as high as 13,644,000, or 50.3 percent of the total cast in these states.

It has been this way before. Only 33 percent of the press of his day supported Thomas Jefferson. Andrew

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Jackson could win no more than 40 percent of the press to his side. Woodrow Wilson received 41 percent press support in 1912, but as much as 49 percent in 1916.

Lincoln received the lowest press support ever given to a Republican President: 30 percent. Grant's support, on the other hand, ranged from 55 percent to 62 percent; McKinley from 62 percent to 67 percent; Harding, 60 percent; Coolidge, 57 percent; and Hoover, 59 percent.

Ownership of the press is another of those tales of business concentration. At a state-wide editorial convention, one small-town newspaper editor put it this way: "Freedom of the press has come to mean freedom of fewer than 2,000 owners to give readers what we choose. With the influence of newspaper chains increasing, and the number of newspapers growing smaller, it is time for small owners to realize our jeopardy and to attempt to discover whether we are discharging our obligations to the best of our abilities."

This small-town editor was referring to the fact that the 2,600 daily papers of 1910 have declined in number to 1,773 in 1952, a drop of 31.8 percent. Yet, daily circulation has gone up from 24 million to 54 million in this same period. Weekly newspapers, another fading species, have decreased from 16,899 in 1910 to 9,591 today.

Towns and cities enjoying access to two or more competing dailies are becoming fewer and fewer. In 1910, only 42.9 percent of the 1,207 towns with daily papers were one-paper towns. Today as high as 81.6 percent of the 1,497 towns with dailies are one-paper communities.

This editor also was referring to the fact that chain ownership has increased to the point where one out of every five dailies in this country is part of a chain. In fact, as few as 14 owners control newspapers reaching as many as 25 percent of the total daily circulation. And the principal names—Scripps-Howard, Hearst, Frank E. Gannett, Copley, Kingsland Macy, McCormick, du Pont, Rockefeller, Cowles—are Republican names.

Ownership influence upon newspaper content and performance can be very large, to the almost dictatorial extent exercised by a Hearst or a Colonel McCormick. Or this influence may be of a much lesser degree, as found by one study of Midcity *Daily*, the pseudonym given a real-life paper. "In Midcity," the study's report concludes, "the exercise of owner control over the news was relative, among other factors, to the opinions and values of the editing-writing and other groups. Individuals within the groups traded opinions, came to a degree of consensus and acted. Some members of the editing-writing group shared in every decision on printing or not printing the news about Midcity." (*Journalism Quarterly*, March, 1949).

Nonetheless, in every case there is the normal human deference for the wishes of "The Boss." If the number of Bosses grows fewer and remains predominantly Republican in political affiliation, can there be any doubt in which political direction this large, at minimum, veto power will influence the editorial content and slants of newspapers? Beyond this minimum of veto power, there are ample methods for "fixing up" editorial content. The *black-out*, by which significant news is completely suppressed, is perhaps the most brazenly partisan method. More common is the *burial* method, whereby the news is capsulized into insignificance and then buried on a back page. *Slanting* is the best-known method. It involves the manipulation of language and facts so as to tell a story with a definite bias, often with unfriendly interpolations. Slanting is most in evidence in headlines and lead paragraphs which practically tell the reading audience what attitude they ought to have toward an event or a fact.

Ownership influence has reached the reporter level from another direction. The old-fashioned, free-writing reporter has pretty much been displaced or systematically organized by the large press associations: Associated Press, United Press, and International News Service. Over 95 percent of all the daily papers get their news via these three associations. UP is a Scripps-Howard affiliate. INS is a Hearst interest. The Republicanism of these two, at least, is fairly well established.

The advertisers, however, hold the strongest veto power. Just as in the case of the owners, advertisers do not keep an agent constantly under the editor's desk. But an advertiser can spend *more* or *less* in one medium as compared with another. If pleased or displeased, he *does* have real powers of reward and punishment. With more than 70 percent of total newspaper revenue coming from advertisers, pleasing or displeasing the advertisers becomes an important consideration for every editor. The total size of this advertising income to newspapers has jumped from $574 million in 1947 to $2.2 billion in 1951.

As though driving home this point, the United States Chamber of Commerce ran a "trial balloon" ad recently in the *Daily News* of Milford, Mass. The advertisement read like a straight news story and, as though Orson Welles's men from Mars had hit town, sent local residents scurrying to the phone.

All advertising in the US was stopped at 10 o'clock this morning. The nation's newspapers, deriving over half their income from advertising, were readjusting to the situation

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quickly. Most of them were reducing size by 75 percent to 85 percent and at least doubling circulation prices. The American Newspaper Publishers Association announced several hundred thousands would lose their jobs.

Many magazines went to the wall immediately. . . .

Over 2,000 of the nation's broadcasting stations immediately announced plans for discontinuing operations indefinitely. . . .

As in the case of the small-town editor mentioned earlier, most editors and publishers are aware of the inadequacies of the press. In a survey reported by Edward L. Bernays earlier this year, publishers themselves acknowledged that the press as a whole was falling short of the ideals set for it by such men as Joseph Pulitzer, Adolph S. Ochs and Thomas Gibson. In what ways did the press deviate? The following is a break-down of the opinions of the publishers who responded:

Deviation from Ideals	Publishers
Failure to perform public service	23%
Response to economic pressures	18
Slanting the news	17
Political bias	16
Sensationalism	6
Bias and self-interest of the publishers	6
Group pressures (not otherwise defined)	4
Miscellaneous (chiefly inacurracy and incompetency)	10
	100%

All this brings us to the fundamental issues of partisanship in the press. These issues are pointed up in the following quotation from the Report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press:

This country has gone through a communications revolution. Literacy, the electorate, and the population has increased to such a point that the political community to be served by the press includes all but a tiny fraction of the millions of the American people. . . . [The citizen] is dependent on the quality, proportion and extent of his news supply, not only for his personal access to the world of events, thought and feeling, but also for the materials of his duties as a citizen and judge of public affairs. The soundness of his judgment affects the working of the state and even peace of the world, involving the survival of the state as a free community. Under these circumstances it becomes an imperative question whether the performance of the press can any longer be left to the unregulated initiative of the few who manage it.

It is not to be expected that the press should be mathematically representative of the political views of the population in the same sense, for example, that Congress is. Congress has a near monopoly over the legislative system and the production of laws. The press hardly has the same degree of near monopoly over the communication system and the transmission of news. Congress is an agency operating in the "general interest," according to rules designed to call a Republican a Republican and a Democrat a Democrat and to give fair representation to nearly every conceivable "special interest." As the press moves in the direction of large-scale organization and concentration of control, it has yet to give evidence that its own designation of political affiliations is trustworthy or that it has systematically tackled the question, in the words of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, of providing "a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning" and "a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society."

GERMANY AFTER SCHUMACHER

by Robert Powell

DR. KURT SCHUMACHER'S death on August 20 deprived the German Social Democratic Party of one of the most forceful personalities in its history. It is not presumptuous to compare him with Lassalle, Bebel, Adler and other great European leaders of the Left.

For it was Schumacher above all who, in the ruins of postwar Germany, laid the foundations of a strong consolidated working-class party which accepted the Communist challenge—and fought it with the democratic weapons of social justice and human freedom. Only those who lived through the economic starvation, the moral and political chaos of that time can appreciate what Schumacher did.

Robert Powell is a pseudonym for a reporter experienced in German affairs.

Of course his faults as well as his faith are stamped on the party he molded. The attitude of the SPD toward almost all Adenauer's moves in foreign policy was one of intransigent and at times unreasoned opposition. Whether it was the Petersberg Agreement (1949), the Schuman Plan, the General Contract to replace the Occupation Statute, or the Agreement for German entry into the European Defense Community, the SPD stood in opposition. Behind all this stood Kurt Schumacher. He dominated the Party. He brooked no opposition, and together with the traditional solidarity of the SPD this resulted in a uniformity which often looked like unity to the outside world.

What will happen now that Schumacher's strong hand has been removed? The Party must now not only

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find a new leader. It must also reconsider its attitude toward basic international problems.

This, it should be stated immediately, is not another way of saying that the SPD must choose between the democratic West and the Communist East. This decision has already been taken. The official policy of the SPD was declared some time ago by Dr. Adolf Arndt, when he said that "an association of any kind with the Soviets is for all time out of the question. . . . The Stalin system does not recognize allies, only victims."

If, on the other hand, this statement is assumed to mean that the SPD automatically agrees that the Federal Republic should become an *active* partner of the West, this is also taking too much for granted. The Social Democrats want to follow a German policy. The key to it is found in what may be described as Schumacher's political will and testament, which he recorded in a film interview just before his death: "In the partition of Germany lies the greatest strength of Soviet foreign policy. From the Social Democratic point of view, the reunification of Germany is a more urgent and more important aim for the pacification and reconstruction of Europe than any other form of integration of one part Germany with other European countries."

Now the differences which have existed in the Party, may come out. For the SPD has its Right, Center and Left groups, and the great task will be to find a working compromise between them all. There will, of course, be no open breach in the near future—the traditional solidarity of the Party and its interests will prevent this. But there should be a weakening of the emphasis upon opposition of Schumacher's intransigent kind.

Much will depend on Schumacher's successor who will be elected at the Dortmund conference that opens on September 24. And unless the unexpected happens, the new chairman will be Erich Ollenhauer. He is a quite different man from his predecessor. He cannot be, and probably does not want to be, the dictator of policy. Nor is he the demagogue who can rouse the masses, as Schumacher did. His strength will lie much more in his influence in committee and behind the scenes.

Ollenhauer has been active in the movement since 1918. He was chairman of the "Arbeiterjugend" (1928-33), secretary of the Socialist Youth International (1921-46), and since April, 1933, a member of the Executive Committee of the SPD. Nazi tyranny compelled him to flee from Germany. He made his way via Prague and Paris to England. He had meanwhile been deprived of his German citizenship. After his return from exile in 1946, he became Schumacher's right-hand man.

Another important post is that of deputy chairman. An outstanding member of the Party who may fill this position is Dr. Carlo Schmid, former university professor of law and SPD expert in international affairs. But the fact, that he is an intellectual, and non-doctrinaire will work against him. Another candidate may be Dr. Adolf Arndt, the legal expert of the Party; a third is Wilhelm Mellies, who has been in charge of its internal social program. If the man is drawn from among the younger close associates of Kurt Schumacher then it mey be Herbert Wehner. He was in the SPD from 1923 to 1927; then, until 1942 in the Communist Party. Since the war he has been one of the bitterest opponents of Communism.

Inside the SPD is the center element known as the "three Buergermeisters group." Its name refers to the senior mayors of Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen—Prof. Ernst Reuter, Herr Max Brauer and Herr Wilhelm Kaisen. They have always adopted a far more tolerant and liberal attitude than Schumacher, supporting the Schuman Plan, the General Contract, and the European Defense Community (EDC) Agreement, and would probably stand for a much closer co-operation between Government and Opposition, especially in foreign policy.

Even if Schumacher had not died, the SPD faced some decision on foreign policy. For its opposition has become sterile and the general election of 1953 may compel it to face up to the responsibilities of office. Today many of its members privately admit that their Party's line could not be very much different in office from that followed by Chancellor Adenauer.

The draft program of the SPD, recently published and to be submitted to this month's meeting refers in detail to the foreign policy of the Party. It argues that the Schuman Plan is a new and urgent reason why West German basic industries must be nationalized. In its foreword, Dr. Schumacher's ghostly voice defines the Party's main task: To create in Germany a new national conscience which would be as far removed from former aggressiveness as from "the current disposition to see in the Allies' slightest wish a manifestation of the European spirit."

The death of Kurt Schumacher will certainly weaken the SPD's influence among some sections of its supporters, and will probably lessen its striking power against the Coalition Government, in the near future. If, on the other hand, the Party adopts a less doctrinaire outlook and gives freer scope to individual opinions within its ranks, then it may be moving into an era of greater success and of vital importance as a constructive factor in the democratic consolidation of Western Europe.

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HAVE YOU THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL ABROAD?

by Eugene Gressman

ON SEPTEMBER 2 the State Department bowed to Congressional, judicial and public criticism and announced that it was bringing some measure of due process into the procedures by which American citizens are judged worthy of passports. Now the constitutional questions of substance remain, questions which will become more prominent as procedural inequities disappear. The answer to those questions will determine whether the 700,000 Americans who travel abroad each year do so by right or by the grace of the Secretary of State.

A preliminary constitutional problem grows out of the very broadness of the passport statute and the rules relating to it which simply state that the Secretary of State "may" issue passports or deny them, invalidate them, or restrict their use "in his discretion." There is thus a complete absence of any discernible standards to guide the Secretary in the exercise of this discretion. There is not a word in the statute or in its legislative history which either permits or denies him the right to base his decision on the applicant's views, affiliations or associations. Nor is any other basis of decision indicated by Congress.

Congress, in short, has delegated to the Secretary of State complete and undefined discretion over the issuance of passports. As Senator Morse recently admitted, "the Congress is partly responsible for the abuse that has developed in the State Department because unthinkingly we have been passing laws which have permitted the exercise of a discretion not subject to review, not subject to the great protection the American people should have of public disclosure." But Congress may also be responsible for something more, for an unconstitutional delegation of power. It has long been a constitutional necessity that a statute delegating authority must, in so far as practicable, clearly set forth standards to guide administrative action. This doctrine was used by the Supreme Court to invalidate the NRA in 1935. While it has not been used to invalidate any other legislation since that time, the Court has consistently recognized its existence and has insisted that there be some indication from Congress as to how its delegated power is to be exercised.

In every pertinent instance since 1935, the Court has been able to discern some form of Congressional standards, even if only by implication. But not even the faintest shadow of an implication is apparent from the passport statute or its legislative surroundings. That fact conceivably could sink the statute in constitutional waters.

But assuming that this doctrine of delegation of powers is somehow found to be satisfied by a long stretch of the judicial imagination, the more basic constitutional problem exists as to what standards dealing with the individual's views and associations can validly be used in denying passports. Are the standards which the Department announced on September 2, precluding passports for those affiliated with, dominated by, or advancing the Communist movement, within the permissible bounds outlined by the Bill of Rights?

As a general proposition, the First Amendment outlaws any standard based solely upon the individual's political views, activities or associations. The federal government certainly cannot punish or otherwise deter an individual because he may utter political views or engage in political activities which are unorthodox or unpopular. By the same token it cannot use such factors to forbid him from traveling abroad. The government cannot punish him by confining him within the borders of the country merely because he has said or done something differing from acceptable political norms.

But does the same conclusion follow when the individual's affiliations and activities are of a Communist nature? To that question the Department emphatically replies in the negative. It points to the conviction of the 11 leading Communists in New York, where it was judicially found that the conspiracy in which they were participants was a "clear and present danger to the United States." It points further to the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, in which Congress purported to find that there is a world-wide Communist revolutionary movement and that the travel of Communists from country to country is a prerequisite for furthering the purposes of this movement. Hence the Department concludes that it would be inappropriate to issue a passport if it has reason to believe that the applicant is knowingly a member of a Communist organization or is under the influence or domination of the Communist movement.

There are several difficulties with the Department's position. In the first place, the McCarran Act is not directed to the problem which confronts the State

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Department's Passport Division at the present time. The McCarran Act forbids members of registered "Communist organizations" to apply for or use passports after registration occurs. To date no organization, not even the Communist Party, has registered or been ordered to register. Thus the present use of this statute as a reason for denying passports is premature.

But reliance on the Internal Security Act or the conviction of the 11 top Communists does not answer the constitutional question. As the Supreme Court has noted, political affiliations—even Communist affiliations—are "ordinarily irrelevant to permissible subjects of government action." They become relevant only if there is a reasonable relationship between the affiliation and some evil which the government has power to prevent. Does that relationship exist as between a member of a Communist organization and the prevention of his travel abroad?

It will be argued, and courts are likely to accept the argument, that there is a world-wide Communist conspiracy and that travel abroad by domestic members of that conspiracy would aid in its consummation. Since overthrow of the United States Government is said to be one of the objectives of this conspiracy and since this is an evil which the government may legitimately seek to prevent, a reasonable relationship will probably be found to exist between membership in a Communist organization and the prohibition against travel abroad.

A reasonable relationship, however, is not enough. In the present view of the Supreme Court, the task then becomes the "delicate and difficult" one of "weighing" the probable effects of the prohibition upon the free exercise of the right to travel abroad against the determination that travel abroad by members of Communist organizations aids the effectuation of the purposes of the Communist conspiracy. The results of this "weighing-in" process will depend ultimately upon the personnel of the Supreme Court and the objectivity with which the members approach this particular task.

In the recent case of the anti-Communist affidavits required of union leaders by the Taft-Hartley Act, the Court "weighed" the scales and found that the heaviest side favored the restriction. The preponderant consideration was the disruption of the national economy which might be caused by political strikes called by Communist-inclined labor leaders. This factor was thought to outweigh the restriction on freedom since only a "relative handful of persons" were affected by the restriction and since the loss of a union leader's position "is not the loss of life or liberty." If that case can be used as an analogy, a different result might follow in the passport situation. Prohibiting Communists from traveling abroad is not likely to end the communication necessary to the effectuation of the conspiracy. And as against the nuisance value of the travel ban is to be weighed the very real deprivation of the constitutional right to travel abroad, a deprivation that would affect a substantial number of people. Any person who is subject to the Constitution is entitled to the protection of that right, even though he may be a member of the Communist Party. Only when there is some clear and present danger that the exercise of that right will bring harm to the nation can any prohibition or restriction be tolerated. Whether travel abroad by Communists or Communist sympathizers constitutes such a danger is a problem that can only be dropped in the Olympian lap of the Supreme Court.

Even more dubious, constitutionally speaking, is any effort by the State Department to deny passports because of the possibility that the applicants, while abroad, will criticize the domestic or foreign policy of the United States. The First Amendment was expressly designed to prevent the government from taking any action which would bar or silence its critics, at home or abroad. And the First Amendment is especially relevant when the restriction is sought to be imposed in advance of the criticism. Unless the courts were to shut their eyes to a long and respected series of decisions, it seems unlikely that any effort to deny a passport on this basis could survive judicial review.

Equally dubious is any standard for passport denial based upon the likelihood that the applicant will commit some crime against national security or transmit secret information endangering national security. If the government has sufficient information that the individual is conspiring or attempting to commit any of these crimes, there are adequate statutes on the books which will permit indictment and punishment. But if the government has no information of that nature, it has no power to infringe the constitutional rights of its citizens merely on unverified suspicions. The constitutional right to travel abroad is a very real and precious one; it can involve the very livelihood of the individual; and it is the basis of mutual understanding among nations and peoples. It should be restricted or prohibited only if there is some definite and overpowering consideration of national security. Mere suspicion is not enough.

Such, then, are some of the constitutional problems at stake as the State Department goes forward with its new passport procedure. They are problems that must await their answers until the fateful day of judicial determination.

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GI HOUSING: BRIBES AND BRIBERS

by Harry Conn

HOME-BUYING veterans utilizing the GI bill have been cheated of countless millions of dollars by bribing home-builders and loan companies, corrupted Veterans Administration employees and water-weak laws, it has been charged by a special House committee, under Rep. Olin Teague (D, Tex.) investigating the VA's Loan Guaranty Program.

Since 1945 almost three million veterans have received loans under the GI bill to buy or build homes. Complaints against jerry-built construction, leaky roofs, defective wiring and plumbing and laundermats which almost vibrate the walls down have become almost commonplace. The carefully detailed Teague Report, the product of two years work, charges that favoritism, collusion and outright bribery in the administration of the veterans' housing program have resulted in this widespread bilking of veterans.

The House committee, as the nation's newspapers have jubilantly headlined, castigated the corruption in the Veterans Administration and demanded the firing of a number of employees. The same newspapers maintained a discreet silence over the exposure of the bribers and the corruptors. But the Teague committee gives them full publicity.

Alton B. Jackson and Wrelton L. Clark, vice-presidents of the San Diego, Calif., Federal Savings and Loan Association, for example, are charged with paying Francis G. Paige, assistant loan guaranty officer in San Diego $2,000 for special work in processing applications for the association. The report also named Chris A. Cosgrove, president of the Cosgrove Building Company who allegedly gave Paige $3,013 in building materials and paid him $6,900 in weekly salaries for assistance in helping to raise the price of the homes after an agreement was signed. Similar activities are reported in 15 cities.

The pattern of corruption in Detroit, as exposed in the committee's report, is typical:

Many builders, mortgagees and others doing business with the Loan Guaranty Division have passed out baseball tickets, football tickets and tickets to other sporting events to employees of the division. . . . Many of the builders or mortgage companies have Christmas parties or open-house at Christmas time. . . . One mortgage company each year has taken a group of employees of the Loan Guaranty Division on a boat trip on the Detroit River, provided them with drinks, and taken them to dinner at the Grosse Point Yacht Club.

This method of operation seems to have proved richly successful. Thirty-four of the 36 employees of the VA Loan Guaranty Division in Detroit have admitted receiving gifts. An appraiser in the division, for example, said that he had made the following haul: Five bottles of whiskey, a basket of fruit, a chafing dish filled with fruits and nuts, a punch bowl filled with Christmas "goodies," four turkeys and two hams, a bottle of wine and a fruit cake, a carving set, some linens and gift certificates totaling $95.

In return for the gratuities, the Teague committee charged, mortgagees and home builders received preferential treatment for great profit. Builders were not asked to submit plans to the VA at the time of appraisal, for example, and were not required to meet even minimum standards. VA officials and builders conspired to alter and antedate appraisals, circumventing credit restrictions. Mortgagees collected excessive and unauthorized fees. On other occasions, VA officials increased the reasonable value of property over and above established appraisals without justification or proper documentation. The prices for homes in the District of Columbia area, for example, were up 10 to 15 percent.

Aside from the corrupt acts committed by individuals, the Teague committee found that the veteran was often suffering because the VA had no authority to supervise the contractual relationship between the veteran purchaser and the seller. The committee recommended that the VA should be authorized to require protective features in the contract, including closing costs and specific performance as to date of delivery. The group also recommended that sales contracts include specific guaranties or warranties for one year on heating, plumbing, electrical fixtures and condition of basements and roofs.

Any such minimum warranty or guarantee, which would offer positive protection to the veteran purchaser, is being strongly opposed by the National Association of Home Builders whose members have built 70 to 80 percent of all the GI homes. The NAHB argues that technicalities and local customs make warranties undesirable.

The Teague committee has recommended corrective legislation to protect the veteran in his future housing investments. The committee's report specifically recommends the firing of certain officials in the 15 cities investigated. If the recommendations are enacted the law will be strengthened. The bribe-takers will be punished, but the bribers will remain unscathed.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE MATERIALS AND WEIGHTS OF HERMANN MELVILLE, II

by Charles Olson

HOW TO EXTRICATE what Melville blindly knew and did from what he merely said, kept turning his mind to, or tossed up as material for his novels and poems. How to show that under-eye into which his small ones could enlarge or (to use his own image) open under water and they bloodshot, or that sort of blindness of his which continues to make *him* valuable, not his surfaces. Make a try.

Melville's importance, greater than ever, lies in (1) his approach to physicality, (2) his address to character as necessary human force, and (3) his application of intelligence to all phenomena as *the* ordering agent — what Creeley and I have elsewhere called the Single Intelligence, which is a better way of naming the total intelligence, simply that it is never more than the given man's act in the presence of *his* multiples. Melville, major figure just because he did take on the multiple when no one else saw it, and did risk havoc and wreck, had his formula for the distinction: he opposed "Right Reason" to reason, dubbing reason and her tools—logic and classification—"Baconianism."

Now if by stressing point 3, I appear to come down hard on the methodological question, it is to make very certain, here at the outset, that no one should think that any of these three fronts of Melville's attack are anything but hooked together and unhookable, that any of them is not methodology; and that he, as any of us, is not solely an instrument for use. It is one of the losses of all the critique and scholarship which I reviewed last week including the three new books on Melville that the totality of Melville's effort is not dealt with as one. And so the very extraordinary contribution Melville did make still stays obscured. By his impeccable and continuous inquiries into what ways ideality ["transcendentalism" was the current word for it in Melville's time] no longer fit modern reality in a form proper to its content, he drove further than any of his predecessors toward forcing totality of effort to yield some principle out of itself. Leaving this out, failing to get it, makes so much of the work on Melville (the exception is D. H. Lawrence's) merely praise, dispraise, or history; in other words what is left is either the very rationalism Melville spent his life exposing, or just the facts of him without lending those facts an animation the equal of Melville's animation.

It happened that I opened to the chapter "The Tail" when this new [Mansfield and Vincent] edition of *Moby-Dick* came to hand, and I felt the wonder all over again of Melville's knowingness of object and motion, those factors of a thing which declare what we call its physicality (and do not mean physiology). "The Tail" is as lovely an evidence as any other of Melville's ability to go *inside* a thing, and from its motion and his to show and to know, not its essence alone (this was mostly the gift of ideality — of Guatama's, Socrates', or Christ's), but its *dimension*, that part of a thing which ideality—by its Ideal, its World Forms or its Perfections—tended to diminish; that quality of any particular thing or event which comes in any one of our consciousnesses; how it comes in on us as a force peculiar to itself and to ourself in any of those instants which do hit us and of which our lives are made up. We call it size; we say: it was a big thing—a kick; he's a big person; the day was a whopper. We have more of a vocabulary for the physics of it than Melville had. We know the literal space there is inside a microcosm, the nature of the motion hidden in any mass. Yet I do not know another writer except Homer who achieves by words so much of the actual experiencing of this *dimension* as Melville does.

If I put this first—if I put Melville in the context of Homer—I do it because, until any of us takes this given physicality and moves from its essence into its kinetic, as seriously as we are all too apt to take the other end—the goal, we'll not be busy about the civilization breeding as surely now as that other one was between Homer and 500 B C. And we'll not know what Melville had started a hundred years ago. For the metaphysic now to be known *does* lie inside function, methodology is form, Rimbaud's question is the incisive one—"what is on the other side of despair?" There is no where else to go but in and through; there is no longer any least piece of pie in the sky. With Melville's non-Euclidean penetrations of physical reality ignored or avoided, all the important gains he made in expressing the dimensions possible to man and to story are also washed out.

The push Melville made beyond characterization as he inherited it, even from Shakespeare, and beyond fiction was inevitable, given the stance he took toward object moving in space. With such a sense of totality and yet with senses crisp enough to keep him usually safe from generalization, he had to go beyond the familiar causatives of environment, psychology and event — at least event as reduced as modern event is, seen only as the eye of the needle and the camel left out.

Several of the Melville books will be at pains to show that he did not lose any of these factors in his drive beyond them, especially those which apply crudely or sometimes finely contemporary disciplines proceeding from Marx, Freud, and Neo-Christianity. I would only get into this game to keep those players from neglecting, by their own rules, such a passage as that in *The Confidence-Man* in which Melville likens character, in this case Hamlet's, to a Drummond light raying out from

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itself on all other things by movement from its sources on all sides; or to insist upon the importance of "The Specksynder" chapter in *Moby-Dick*, calling attention to the new evidence of Goethe's influence on that chapter. (It is to Luther Mansfield's credit that he has brought the *Dichtung und Wahrheit* passages to light). But the fact is that the sultanism that Goethe enabled Melville to expose by way of Ahab leaves such achievements of Melville only prophetic, like his discoveries in *Pierre* which the Freudians find pioneer or those meta-psychic ones in *Moby-Dick* which Jung has acknowledged. In "The Specksynder" passage Melville even uses just such signal words of recent political and economic fact as "dictatorship" and "centralization" ("the plebian herds crouch abased before the tremendous centralization").

It is in more thorough depths of his engagement with what men are — less substantive, and more to do with the morality implicit in form — where Melville can stand examination and more serve us. In the "Ambiguities" (Ronald Mason rightly insists upon the significance of this subtitle to *Pierre*) which tested Melville, he tried to go beyond the anti-hero. In creating the anti-hero Ahab and in trying to go beyond him, Melville put himself squarely up against the hero, and thus at the heart of narrative and verse now. I throw down the proposition that Billy Budd is a Christian Hero (it is an oxymoron: a Christian can only be a saint). And it is as perverse of the Neo-Christian critics to read Melville's Christianity their way (to fail to see what *Billy Budd* cost him) as it is for Marxians and Freudians to put Melville's pains their way. For Melville grasped the archeological man and by doing it entered the mythological present. *Moby-Dick* is the evidence. The rest of his work is the defeat which is still our own.

Melville already knew what none of the moderns today yet know by having, in the anti-hero Ahab, confronted any good or evil negatively, and the rest of his work was a huge effort to do it the other way—to achieve personage instead of characterization. He did not see man as measure of man (Ahab got him over that Renaissance stile) but as limit. Thus he had the totalness to lend any of his creations such insides that only in his work among the moderns (not in Joyce's, say) can any of us involved in the post-modern struggle find lessons proper to the dimensional rather than the essential problem of the Hero (all that I read is either the essence or the documentation, never the act).

It was one of the several vulgarities of the two editors of this new *Moby-Dick*, that they put Melville's use of Lord Nelson in *Billy Budd* in such flatness as: Nelson was "one of Melville's greatest heroes," when the text of the novel itself shows how bitterly Melville felt his failure to give Nelson (or Billy, for that matter) the proportions, sufferings and relevances he knew man as hero to be.

In fact here is that limit of Melville which might also be seen to have been Rimbaud's, that both of them, in wholly differing ways, were prevented from work beyond what they did do (what cannot be said of Dostoevsky or Lawrence except in a dull absolute way) by an exasperation that a reality equivalent to their own penetration of reality had not come into being in their time. They both had, in themselves, manumitted man from the inaccurate estimate of reality men have had to go by since the Ionians. Both had seen ideality for the discrepancy it is. There are signs that

(Continued on page 21)

TOLL OF THE CURFEW

THE SELECTED LETTERS OF THOMAS GRAY, edited with an introduction by Joseph Wood Krutch (Farrar, Straus and Young; $3.75).

A PSYCHOLOGIST could probably finish off Thomas Gray in a paragraph. In academic circles his type is well known. Gray had a brutal father and Thomas was his mother's boy. At Eton he was a member of a precious coterie of four (Horace Walpole was one of them) who disliked the young barbarians who chased the "rolling circle's speed" and urged "the flying ball." They had more earnest business to attend to and their high fooling was done in Latin and French and imitations of Shakespeare's bawdry.

After making an interrupted grand tour with Walpole, Gray stayed in Cambridge, sheltered from the world and women by the walls of Peterhouse and later, after an undergraduate prank made him stand on his dignity, at Pembroke, just across the street. Naturally Gray never married. He was fussy, learned, over-precise, neurotic, and given to constant worrying about his health. He was also the author of the most famous poem in the English language and of a great many letters which have delighted successive generations since his friend and literary executor, William Mason, printed (and badly mangled) 113 of them in 1775.

The Great Letters Series, in which this latest selection of Gray's letters appears, aims to present only the "world's great letter writers", as "opposed to great writers who wrote letters of no particular distinction." Gray's correspondence certainly qualifies him for admission to this select circle, but let the buyer beware. Few great letter-writers have told so much about what they were doing and said so little about their inner life. At least, what is said is not on the surface. It is veiled, hinted at, conveyed by a nuance of phrase, a change in style or pace. He who reads Gray's letters on the run may see only a pedant, a gossip, and an enraptured traveler. The reader who cares to try to lift the veil will find an artist in prose who practiced even in his letters to his intimate friends an adroit discretion. Yet it is possible, often, to catch just what the receiver was supposed to catch. The reward in these moments is great. We see the Gray whom the psychologist, so careful of the type, would miss.

Mr. Krutch's task, so far as the selecting of the letters was concerned, could not have been easy. (The question of the text is another matter; the admirable three-volume edition of the correspondence, compiled by Toynbee and Whibley, solved that problem.) Many of Gray's most representative letters could not be printed in a volume of

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this kind. They are either too learned and would thus require translation of passages in foreign languages or they are so packed with allusions to contemporary events that nearly every line would need a foot-note.

But Mr. Krutch's compelled neglect of such letters diminishes the portrait of Gray which emerges from these pages. Gray's mind was an amazing storehouse of classical learning, of the history of England, and of English poetry and architecture and legal institutions. He was a disciple of Linnaeus, though more a virtuoso than a scientist. He neglected no humanistic or scientific pursuits of his time, save for two which Cambridge inflicted upon him. "Must I plunge into metaphysics?" he wrote to West. "Alas, I cannot see in the dark; nature has not furnished me with the optics of a cat. Must I pore upon mathematics? Alas, I cannot see in too much light; I am no eagle." Not to know the learned Gray, who well deserved the sinecure of the Regius Professorship of Modern History, is to miss the man to whom his students turned for help as did his maturer friends.

Mr. Krutch does well by the Gray who loved to gossip about the quarrels of actors in London and the struggles for academic posts in Cambridge; Dr. Chapman who has "gone to his grave with five mackerel (large and full of roe) in his belly;" how the Royal Family runs "loose about the world;" and the emerald ring Lady Mary Wortley-Montague gave to Commodore Barnet, which he found "was a paste not worth 40 shillings."

Mr. Krutch also does well by the Gray who loved to journey about the country, examining the vaults of abbeys and taking notes on the heraldic ornaments of tombs. He prints a generous selection of the letters Gray wrote home when, as a young man, he was travelling on the continent with Walpole and all of the letters in the form of a journal which he wrote to Wharton near the end of his life when he made a tour of the Lakes and Yorkshire.

In making his selections Mr. Krutch has been particularly careful to show Gray among his friends. Enough of the letters to Walpole are printed to suggest what a strangely united pair they were, the son of a Prime Minister and the son of a scrivener, and what tensions constrained their friendship because of the difference in station. The reader can see, in contrast, how deep was the affection between Gray and Richard West whose death at an early age brought on one of the major crises in Gray's life. The younger friends and disciples whom Gray gathered over the years are also given their due. Since Mr. Krutch has built his volume around these friendships, one wonders why he omits any reference to Gray's brief attachment to Bonstetten, the mercurial young Swiss aristocrat, whom he, at fifty-two, loved as he had not loved anyone. There should have been a place for the letter written to Bonstetten on April 19, 1770, in which Gray lays bare his heart as he had never done and would never do again.

Mr. Krutch's introduction to the letters serves its purpose of supplying information which otherwise would have had to go into footnotes. The tone is rather grudging. I suspect Mr. Krutch is annoyed at Gray's inability to finish any of his vast projects and get them into print. (His friends saw to it that his poems were published.) Perhaps Mr. Krutch envies Gray a little and why should he not? No one of our craft could hold an important professorship in a great university today without delivering a single lecture. Gray could, though he worried a little about his inaugural lecture, elaborately sketched yet never finished. But will anyone ever care to read a modern college professor's letters to his friends?

WILLARD THORP

A JOLTING RIDE

CAVALCADE OF JUSTICE, by Bernard O'Donnell (Macmillan; $3).

BERNARD O'DONNELL is a retired English crime reporter who now spends much of his time in the writing and study of legal history. As a newspaper reporter, he attended most of the noteworthy English trials of the twentieth century and became well acquainted with the jurisdiction and procedures of the various courts in the British legal system.

He has brought his first-hand experience to bear in *Cavalcade of Justice*. In a book directed primarily to laymen, he has attempted to combine an historical survey of English courts with a description of their present-day powers and characteristics, interspersed with innumerable accounts of ancient and modern cases.

The present result is not a particularly happy one. The reader is taken for a rather jolting ride through judicial history without gaining any coherent idea of how or why the various courts and procedures were born. Nor is the reader left with any too clear a notion of the present organization of the English judicial system.

The difficulty lies in Mr. O'Donnell's over-emphasis on anecdotal tales of various trials, many of which he personally witnessed. One case leads to another in Mr. O'Donnell's mind and soon the past and present nature of the particular court under discussion is lost in a welter of interesting but irrelevant details about the trials. To this confusion are added frequent and annoying personal asides by the author, such as: "It has always been a matter of personal regret to me that no compensation was ever granted to this much-wronged man" and "My sympathies were with Maud Allen, for although Pemberton Billing admitted that there was nothing he could urge against her private life, *this* point was never put to the jury as it should have been."

In other words, giving the reader the hyphenated story of a murder, describing some of the actions and remarks of the defendant and counsel during the trial and concluding with a few grisly details of the execution are not the most satisfactory way of making the courts of England "come alive for the average American reader." The Anglo-Saxon legal system, which is the mother of the American legal system, forms a brilliant and admirable page in the history of western civilization. But Mr. O'Donnell has not given us that page. He has merely provided a reporter's round-up

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of interesting cases, encased in a confusing mold of history and personalities. He has accepted the British judicial system uncritically and unhesitatingly. He has shed little light on the how and the why of that system.

It is undoubtedly a difficult task to translate the technical and offtimes dull story of a complicated judicial system into words that will bring that story to life for the benefit of the layman. It requires a remarkable combination of a legal historian, a witty commentator, an intelligent sceptic and a not-too-serious student of the law. Unfortunately, Mr. O'Donnell does not quite meet that test.

EUGENE GRESSMAN

A BELATED DISCOVERY

EPITAPH OF A SMALL WINNER, by Machado De Assis (Noonday Press; $3.50).

MACHADO DE ASSIS was a 19th century Brazilian writer, much admired at home and in Europe, but almost unknown here. He turns up now, some seventy years late, through the good offices of an economist, Dr. William L. Grossman, who became interested in Assis while studying Portuguese for a Brazilian college appointment. Dr. Grossman has made a lively translation of a striking book.

The author was the son of a Portuguese woman and a mulatto house painter. His formal education lasted about five years, but he was later able to listen in on classes in the girls' school in which his stepmother was cook. Throughout his sickly adult life he held a civil service job and produced on the side thirty-one volumes, in almost every literary form. *Epitaph of a Small Winner* was written in 1879, while Assis recovered from a severe illness. He had determined during his illness to abandon the romanticism of his previous fiction and the popular tradition. The break was quite complete, and the book that came of it is derisive and ironic, psychologically unromantic enough to satisfy the most disenchanted. In its pace, and in the mock-life of its characters, it is reminiscent of Gogol, and the Hallowe'en procession in *Dead Souls*.

The narrator and hero, Braz Cubas, a kind of Carioca rich-man-in-the-street, is dead to begin with. He is, as he describes himself, "a deceased writer not in the sense of one who has written and is now dead, but in the sense of one who has died and is now writing." There follows, in a hundred and sixty "chapters", some no longer than a sentence or two, an account of his life, beginning with his death at sixty-four. For all its speed, it seems as leisurely digressive, and as mocking and candid, as though it had in fact been scribbled in eternity.

Braz Cubas does not spare himself, nor anyone else. In the melancholy company he keeps are: his foolish father, who, it is in justice noted, "resorted to elaborate invention only after first experimenting with simple falsehood" in suppressing the fact that the founder of the family was a cooper; "gorgeous Marcella", the hilariously greedy courtesan who loved him "for fifteen months and eleven contos, nothing less"; Virgilia, his married mistress, whose moral insensitivity eventually shakes even Braz; her political husband, who is kept from any natural reaction to his cuckolding by his object respect for Public Opinion; Quincas Borba, the daft philosopher and founder of a wonderfully funny system, Humanitism, whose sometime disciple Braz becomes.

All these, and a fine mess of minor characters, preen themselves and tread about on each other, their eyes fixed on empty space, where they are convinced that they see something ultimately desirable.

What they get, the innocent and guilty alike, is bleak disappointment, frustration or satiety. Self-betrayed, Braz concludes from his grave that he has after all a "small surplus," though his life apparently adds up to nothing, because at any rate he "had no progeny, transmitted to no one the legacy of our misery."

The wit with which the tale is told has a severity behind it. Machado De Assis belongs to that order of moralists, such as I. Compton-Burnett and Evelyn Waugh, whose comic invention and style briefly disguise the rigor of their judgments. But the value of this is diminished by the note of cheap nihilism on which he ends his book.

S. M. FITZGERALD

LES GRANDES FAMILLES

THE RISE OF SIMON LACHAUME, by Maurice Druon, translated by Edward Fitzgerald (Dutton; $3.50).

THE RISE OF SIMON LACHAUME, which tries very hard to amount to something, gets off on the wrong foot in the English translation by having practically nothing to do with Simon Lachaume. A chronicle of two French families, the aristocratic de La Monneries and the banking Schoulders, it bore the much more appropriate title *Les Grandes Familles* in the original. Not that this can have been much help, for Simon (who belongs to neither family but ingratiates himself with both) is a fair example of the level of characterization in this novel, and he is the vaguest thing since Ibsen's Boyg. Fortunately, one can get a little of the drift—he was no doubt meant to be a crafty operator who runs on opportunism like a horse on oats, the sort of man who chooses his career, his connections, his mistresses and his neckties solely on the percentages. But as Lachaume has no more inner life than a paperweight, we learn these facts only on inference, from the way in which Druon maneuvers him in combination with the other figures, and not from the direct realization of intention. In this manner we come to learn something about nothing. The same objection applies to the other characters, with the possible exception of the banker Noel Schouldler, who is intended to be a mean but courageous old vulture and gives a performance reasonably close to one.

The Rise of Simon Lachaume is anything but a family novel, if you mean by family a community of some sort, at least of feeling. The Schoudlers and de La Monneries have no common center, no pattern of character or perception to unify the three generations presented in the novel. This is a defect in execution, as it can hardly be the point Druon is trying to establish; I should

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rather maintain that the novel happens to fall out this way, since the author, who shows no ability to represent feeling in any degree, deserves no credit for depicting the absence of feeling.

Lacking the capacity to feel, he resorts to secondary effects, violence, perversion, the grotesque, particularly in the treatment of sex. These are out of place in a serious novel; but as Druon tends to be dull in his serious moments, except when (of all things) he writes of financial transactions, his emphasis falls by default on the tabloid side. I, for one, am sick and tired of the quasi-pornographic, divorce-court view of sex with its images of titillation, horror and disgust (e.g., Olivier Meignerais, one of the incidental characters, suffers a hemorrhage during the sex act and dies). This sort of thing is manufactured either in wilful exploitation or in ignorance of sexuality—both unforgivable in the novelist. It's been a long time since a pair of characters had the innocence or simplicity of heart to sleep together because they enjoy it. Some day, when a novelist again comes up with such a pair (in translation, I suppose, from the Samoan), he will undoubtedly be put down as a pornographer, while books like *Simon Lachaume* go on getting prizes they don't deserve—in this case, the *Prix Goncourt.*

ISAAC ROSENFELD

BEYOND SALVATION

A CENTURY OF THE ESSAY, edited David Daiches (Harcourt, Brace; $3).

THIS IS ANOTHER of those innumerable collections of essays all of which are more or less suitable for use in the standard freshman composition course. The pleasant format and the absence of didactic comment suggest, however, that in this case the publishers are trying to free the book from too strict an association with the classroom. The essential boredom remains. Says Mr. Daiches in his perfunctory introduction:

> Do we need to apologize for reading what thoughtful men have said well, whether of description, argument, or self-revelation? Do I need to write another essay explaining the value of this sort of thing? If the reader does not see that the answer to both these questions is a resounding 'No!' he is beyond salvation by essays or by any other kind of literature.

Now I should think a man who had not read William James' essay "What Pragmatism Means," might well find it a good thing to do; but is he "beyond salvation" if he feels a certain nausea at being asked immediately afterwards to read a piece by Hilaire Belloc called "The Mowing of a Field," and so on, from "The Mowing of a Field' to "Harvard College" to "Shooting an Elephant" to "The Last Elizabethan" to "Life in the Shetland Islands," "Notes on an Island," "Tribute to Some Minor Artists," et cetera?

As Mr. Daiches observes, essays are written for many reasons. When they are interesting essays, they are part of the great conversation of history; but taken from their moment within that volume intended for competition in that most lucrative and restless of book markets, the freshman textbook field, they are only more pungently musty than an old copy of *Readers' Digest.* Visiting in a strange house, one might, it is true, be pleased to find the volume on a bedside table.

RUDD FLEMING

(Continued from page 18)

Rimbaud had been so fierce as to come to totality, the condition of the Hero. Melville couldn't; the appeal of Christ was so strong on him. But he knew. For he had got as far as Ahab in the attack against organization or false form in men, society, or nature. Christ did stay so much the image of perfection to Melville, who had gone so far back into the nature of things that he had also given men their first image, since the biblums, of Chaos or Pre-Form, the Dragon as White Whale. In any case, the debate in his nature rove Melville, and left the job he was so much the most capable to do still to be done. He was too American to have the logic Rimbaud had—to quit, and to make money.

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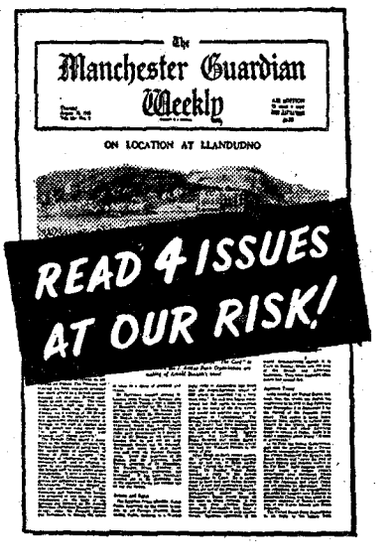

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THE MANIC MOAN

A CRY OF CHILDREN, by John Horne Burns (Harper; $3).

WHY JOHN HORNE BURNS' third novel, *A Cry of Children*, should be such a confused, stale, and empty book is difficult to understand. Mr. Burns is no beginner; in fact his name has often been linked with the best of the young post-war novelists, because of the high critical praise which his first novel, *The Gallery*, received in 1947. I have just read *The Gallery* for the first time, and I find that in its peculiar combination of bursting journalese and old Hemingway, there is a real struggling toward insights (some of which are brilliantly achieved); and in its reportorial recall of the atmosphere in which soldier-citizens, suddenly and inexplicably displaced, must live, there is certainly as much honesty and vitality as Norman Mailer gave us in *The Naked and the Dead*. I also found, however, that the author's gallery of souls is mainly a gallery of neurotics—far inferior to Mrs. McCullers' variety—who would react the same in war or peace. But the thing that bothers me most in *The Gallery* is its phony vision, compounded of a disgust for human beings—Americans in particular—and a thinly veiled piety that is thick like cream gone sour.

And what of *A Cry of Children?* It is the old twist given one more turn. Well-off, well-brought up David Murray meets gold-digging Isobel Joy from the wrong side of the tracks. They fall in love immediately and decide to live without benefit of clergy. The complications are what you would imagine, and when the first desires have worn off, David—a successful concert pianist who is not yet thirty—finds that they have less than nothing in common.

Isobel, who is from a poor Boston Irish Catholic family, is good in bed, and a superb cook; but David's music bores her. David finally leaves her, after he has been beaten insensible by Isobel's brother with a length of hose ("I'm gonna beat ya, dopey."); and she finds herself pregnant, alone, and broke. She returns to her mother, who is vastly pleased that her daughter "has a roast in the oven." Isobel disagrees, and decides to have an abortion. On her way to her ordeal, she just happens to meet David, his mother, and his new girl going into Symphony Hall, where Dr. Koussevitsky is going to conduct the premier of David's first Sinfonia Concertante for Organ and Orchestra. Several weeks later, after Isobel's operation is over, and she is returning to her mother's, she just happens to pass a church, and sees David and his new wife emerging. Isobel, in the need of a pick-me-up, goes to her old hangout, where she had first met David a year before. The book ends with a young man ogling her from the bar, but now she feels, with her new knowledge, that "after a while they all get to look alike."

A Cry of Children is either a good parody, or pure soap opera, whichever you wish. It has all the standard overtones of America as the crushing mechanistic society, where all our youth run amuck, their souls in the wind, where religion is a hollow bell, and where, as the author says, "all life is a dance hall, sister." Mr. Burns said some of the same things in *The Gallery*, but at least he said them better. So, although it won't be easy, we must make an effort to remember that.

WHITNEY BALLIETT

Coming Next Week

Record of Congress

82nd Session

As in all Congressional election years for the past decade, the *New Republic* will report next week on the individual voting record of all members of the 82nd Congress. The votes of all Senators and Representatives on 15 key legislative issues of the past two years will be tabulated showing who voted for and who against the Fair Deal and an enlightened foreign program. The analyses accompanying the charts will explain why so many vital bills failed of passage and what changes will have to be made in the membership of the Congress before there can be an improvement.

Don't miss next week's issue of the *New Republic*. You will want to keep it for reference throughout the campaign.

CATHOLIC vs. COMMUNIST

DON CAMILLO AND HIS LITTLE FLOCK, by Giovanni Guareschi (Pellegrini & Cudahy; $3.00).

DON CAMILLO IS BACK. Giovanni Guareschi has, happily, continued to turn out much the same tales of Italian Catholic vs. Italian Communist which earned his first book (*The Little World of Don Camillo*) an audience of more than a quarter of a million.

The secret of Guareschi's success, of course, is the complete and irresponsible humanity of his cast. Don Camillo may be a priest, but a big-fisted, broad-chested and delightfully mercurial man all the same. And Pepponel, the Communist mayor of the village and Don Camillo's chief antagonist, is equally human—a far cry from the demoniac political caricatures which seem to be rushing about everywhere.

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The *Don Camillo* stories take place in a small village of the Po Valley. Here the two chief pastimes (aside from grubbing a rather poor living and having babies) are religion and politics. Both are followed with an absolute maximum of rhetoric. This rhetoric is especially obvious in the frequent, if not decisive collisions between Don Camillo and the Communist faction.

Although Peppone and "his gang" mouth the usual Stalinist *clichés,* they are basically far too Italian and too Catholic to feel morally clothed without the presence of the Church. And while Don Camillo may often loose unpriestly invective on those who dare to vote Red, there is an unruffled and vocal Christ to remind him that even Communists are men.

Author Guareschi has a certain tendency toward coyness, and occasionally, intrusive sentimentality. But these are only temporary lapses. *Don Camillo and His Flock* is a lazy, rolling, simple sort of spoofing which comes as welcome antidote to the polemic which surrounds so much current "ideological" writing. STANLEY COOPERMAN

THE BUSINESS NOVEL

THE STOIC by Theodore Dreiser (World; $2.50).

THE QUICK BROWN FOX by Lawrence Schoonover (Macmillan; $3).

THE STOIC, Theodore Dreiser's conclusion to his "Trilogy of Desire," carries the financier Frank Cowperwood through his third and final effort at supreme power, in London, to his defeat and death. Unfortunately *The Stoic* is by far the weakest link in the trilogy. Not dealing here with the stark facts of the America he knew so well and portrayed so massively and minutely in *The Financier* and *The Titan,* Dreiser seemed to move about the London scene with less assurance. Moreover, the pace and drive of the earlier Cowperwood books have gone. Dreiser once said that there were only two stages in life, growth and decay, and Cowperwood in decay lends a stagnant character to the entire last part of the novel. The ending, which the author did not live to rework, trails off and out into a boozy mysticism, radically foreign to the sharp immediacy and urgency of Cowperwood's lifelong drives for power and women.

And as usual the style is subject to the Mr. Dreiser's penchant for romantic solecisms—"You! Aphrodite! Goddess of the sea! Immaculately white!" says the dying Cowperwood to the white-clad Berenice.

Yet the essential monumentality, even here, of Dreiser's conception and execution is only too evident when we place *The Stoic* alongside such a contemporary book on American business as Lawrence Schoonover's *The Quick Brown Fox*, a light-weight satire about the advertising world.

Schoonover uses all the stock ingredients: the George Washington Hill-type executive, before whom all tremble, the "nice guy" hero, a Marquand type, whose modest desires do not extend beyond the possession of a "cream-colored Cadillac," the ruthless career man who tries to climb over the hero's body to his job, the beautiful model, etc. etc., all this motivated by an "epic" struggle to obtain a lucrative shampoo account.

Now of course Schoonover does not intend or ask for a comparison with Dreiser, and indeed it would take a veritable Shakespeare to find sermons in shampoo. Yet the comparison is inevitable, given the subject matter of each novel. What is impressive finally about Dreiser is that he made American business symbolic and symptomatic of the very universe and of the human condition itself. Fate, free will, mystery, beauty, power, force, the splendid, mindless hope for illimitability, and the sad but necessary contrition—all these overriding concerns are suggested by Cowperwood and his struggles, while *The Quick Brown Fox* stands for nothing but its miniscule self. For even at his weakest Dreiser was a giant, and the trilogy still stands unchallenged and seemingly unchallengeable as the largest, the sternest, and with all the most compassionate picture of the financial buccaneering which has been and is so cardinal a fact in American history and destiny. JOHN HENRY RALEIGH

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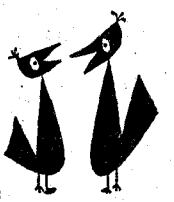

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